

The New Nation

Edward Bellamy—Editor

THE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM OF A NATION, AS WELL AS ITS POLITICAL SYSTEM, OUGHT TO BE A GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE.

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NOTICE.

Persons who are unable to secure The New Nation at their local news-stands will confer a special favor upon us by promptly informing us of the fact, in order that we may see that they are supplied hereafter. At the same time we wish to call the attention of all our friends to the fact that the way to save money and trouble, both for themselves and for us, is by sending in their subscriptions, either for a year or a less period, according to our terms announced.

The editor of The New Nation deeply regrets that the necessity of sticking by the editorial helm will prevent his presence at the Omaha convention. It is needless to say that his thoughts and sympathies will be there. We have full faith that the candidates will be worthy of the platform and command the support of the united reform elements of the country.

The New York Evening Post is trembling in its boots at

the spread of what it calls "municipal socialism," and a contemporary very pertinently asks it to "be kind enough to explain what part or function of municipal governments is not socialistic, and necessarily so." The Post has the floor.

Let the Platform Stand.

It will be a mistake if any fooling with the St. Louis platform is permitted at Omaha. Let it stand as it was adopted. We are united on it. Let us not risk dissension by attempts to tinker it. The Omaha convention was expressly called to nominate candidates on the platform adopted at St. Louis. The delegates to Omaha have doubtful authority to make changes.

Let us have State Life Insurance. Some Figures as to its Advantages.

We have advocated in several editorials state life insurance for the purpose of giving the people insurance at the lowest cost rates, and thus bringing it within the reach of the poor who are at present incapable of paying the exorbitant rates charged by the life insurance companies and are consequently either obliged to go without insurance altogether or take their chances of being deceived by speculative concerns, engineered too frequently by rascally persons.

There are two main advantages in the plan of state insurance; first its cheapness,—second its absolute security. As to the last point, no question will be raised. Life insurance companies have failed in great numbers in this country. They are so closely involved with the general financial system that any serious panic or depression of business endangers them. A life insurance contract is a long one, often covering half a life-time. To assume that the average life insurance company will not get into trouble in the course of 50 years is not justified by experience in this country at least. It is idle to say that the insured man loses nothing by the failure of his company, seeing that he has been insured right along. The man insured at 25 for

\$1000 pays \$20.50 annual premium. If he is obliged to to reinsure at 60 by the failure of his company, at an annual premium of \$79.90, he is a very heavy loser, even if indeed his state of health be good enough to enable him to get any insurance at that age.

On the other hand, state insurance would be absolutely secure. Nothing but the conquest of the country by the Esquimaux, or the return of the glacial age would prevent the state paying losses.

So much for the question of security; now as to the cost. Could the state insure much if any cheaper than private companies? There is no sentiment about this subject; it is a matter of figures and we propose to submit a few.

There are in this country a number of so-called fraternal death-assessment orders of vast membership and long standing, which possess the general confidence of their membership.

The largest of these is the Ancient Order of United Workmen, which numbers 260,000 members and is some 25 years old. We are informed that the average cost per \$1000 of insurance for all ages in this order, figures up \$8 a year.

In the Royal Arcanum and the Knights of Honor, organizations numbering respectively 140,000 and 125,000 members and, we believe, nearly 20 years old, the average cost per year of the same amount of insurance has been found to be \$9.04 and \$12.31 respectively. In the American Legion of Honor, with 80,000 estimated members, the corresponding figure is \$13.78.

In 15 of these fraternal societies, the average cost per year for \$1000 insurance at all ages, ranges from a minimum of \$7.55 to a maximum of \$13.78, the average being \$10.

On this basis the insured, if he lived to the full expectancy of life, would have paid in assessments only \$298.48.

So much for the rate at which 25 years' experience has shown that insurance can be given by organizations which are not trying to make money, but to furnish the accommodation at cost. It is certain that if these orders can give insurance at these figures, the state can do as well or better, with absolute security.

Now for the other side—the cost of insurance, as furnished by the life insurance companies. We have at hand the premium rates of one of the largest and most widely-known companies of the country, rates which we understand do not materially differ from those of the companies generally. According to this table the rate of annual premium charged to persons taking out at 25 years an old-fashioned death policy of \$1000, without any endowment or other special advantages, is \$20.50. As the expectation of life at that age is 38.81 years, you can figure out what one will have to pay if he lives out the full expectation of life.

We take the age of 25 as that at which the lowest premium is charged, and as therefore making the best showing for the companies. The annual premium for every other age is, of course, higher, being \$31.20 at 70, \$48.50 at 50, and so on. On the other hand it will be observed that the estimates for the fraternal societies are averaged for all ages. If we take the premium charged, according to the insurance table, at 37 years, as the average premium for \$1000 insurance at all ages, it is \$30.35.

It appears, then, that while the average cost of \$1000

insurance in 15 leading fraternal orders of this country is \$10 a year, the cost in a representative insurance company is three times and a fraction as great; that it is nearly four times as great as in the oldest and largest of the fraternal orders, and twice and a third as great as in the highest-priced of them.

The conclusion seems safe that the state, acting at cost, could furnish insurance at one half or one third the price charged by the companies, with the probable result of bringing much more than three times the portion of the population now insured within the benefit of the system.

And state insurance, remember, would do what neither the companies nor the orders can absolutely do—it would furnish security. For the matter of that, if it were possible for a private company to furnish anything like the security the state can, it would at once put up its prices 50 per cent and do a big business at that, for security is the great all-essential of desirable insurance. Instead of that the state will charge much less than the price charged for the insecure article, and throw the security in for nothing.

Is it not time the people of this and every state rose up and demanded insurance for the people, by the people, through the state? This great blessing is within our reach if we but demand it. Let us demand it, and at once.

Disastrous Effects of Impure Liquors which Public Management would prevent.

One of the arguments for exclusive public management of the liquor traffic, to be conducted at cost, is the protection of the public against poisonous liquors, which would then be possible. The state, aiming at no profit, would have no motive to sell bad goods, and for reasons of public policy would subject all liquors which it handled to the most searching chemical tests.

Is there any reason to believe that such tests would have any important effects in lessening the evils of intemperance? Is there any good ground for our assumption, that, bad as the results of excessive drinking must remain, however good the liquors, they would be to a considerable degree less deplorable if the liquors were pure?

There is excellent ground for answering both these questions in the affirmative. In France, the government, alarmed by the increase of insanity in certain provinces, apparently attributable to drinking, recently appointed a commission to examine just this question, and the result was a report emphasizing the important benefits that would result in the prevention of insanity from a regulation requiring greater chemical purity of alcohol used as the basis of liquors. In Germany similar conclusions have been reached by a government commission, and in Italy, also. The Italian commission reports the discovery of an important class of poisons in chemically impure liquor, called ptomaines, being formed by the putrefaction of albumen. These poisons are alkaloids very similar to strychnine. The British government has recently received a report from a commission of eminent chemists appointed in 1890 to consider this same subject, the conclusions of which fully bear out those reached by European governments.

It is in the cheap liquors cheaply prepared for the consumption of the poorer classes that the poisonous by-products

of distillation are stated to be most common, the higher priced liquors used by the wealthy being comparatively pure.

The conclusion seems to be clearly suggested by the large body of evidence to which we have alluded, that while excessive consumption of liquors, however chemically pure, cannot fail in the end to undermine the health and destroy the mental usefulness of the drinker, the crimes of violence and desperate acts which are so frequently the result of drunkenness, are properly attributable not to the effects of alcohol but of poisonous alkaloids generally present in the cheaper grades of liquors.

The practical importance of this conclusion is very great as indicating the beneficial consequences which might be expected from exclusive public management of the liquor traffic. Under such a system we may suppose that besides a close inspection of liquors by federal experts at the distilleries, the several state governments would subject all goods purchased by them for distribution through the local agencies, to the examination of a board of chemical experts.

It may be suggested that it is possible, without change of systems, to require all liquors to be tested for adulteration. Theoretically it is, but practically it is not. With the tremendous motive of private profit stimulating the dealer to get the cheapest goods possible, and the distiller to co-operate with him, there would not be even a shadowy prospect of preventing the sale of bad stuff. Of all anti-adulteration laws, this would be the hardest to enforce.

The only way of preventing the poisoning and maddening of the people by bad liquors is to eliminate the motive of profit from the liquor traffic by making it an exclusive public monopoly.

The chemical purification of liquor, whether by special processes or merely by longer storage, would somewhat increase its cost, but as the state would charge no profit, the chemically-pure liquors would still be furnished at less than the present cheapest figures, reducing proportionately the drink bill of the nation.

Men and brethren, think on these things.

The Democratic Nominations.

We are too absolutely out of sympathy with the old parties to take any interest in their proceedings save as they may bear upon the prospects of the people's party. From this point of view the nominations and platform of the democratic party at Chicago are quite as satisfactory as the previous work of the republicans at Minneapolis. Mr. Cleveland, on whom we have personally no criticism to offer, represents the money power in the democratic party as distinctively as Mr. Harrison represents the same element in his own party. The nomination of these two men makes the issue between the two old parties and the people's party so clearly that of money against the people, that a child could not mistake it. The nomination of Stevenson, the Clarkson of the democracy, the man whose reputation rests on his removal, when first assistant postmaster-general under Cleveland, of 45,373 fourth-class postmasters, must be taken as the final burial of the civil-service reform pretensions of the democracy. This is a sad come down for Mr. Cleveland, who was elected in 1884 entirely on the strength of his civil service professions, by the casting votes

of the mugwump reformers in New York. As to the democratic platform, it has nothing of interest to say on any subject in which reformers feel any interest.

How to Secure Free and Speedy Justice and Stop Lynching.

The growing frequency of lynchings in the country suggests some grave considerations. Far from showing a tendency to decrease as our communities become settled and furnished with the appliances and machinery of law, they appear to be, certainly of late, distinctly on the increase. No longer confined to rude populations and isolated districts on the South and West frontiers, they are becoming the fashion in the eastern states, where respect for the orderly administration of the law has been traditional. Not only was a man actually lynched by a mob at Port Jervis, New York, a few weeks ago, but in half a dozen instances have the papers recently reported attempts at lynching in the middle and eastern states which have been with difficulty foiled by the police. Not merely in cases of violence to women, but in any instance of atrocious crime, it is getting to be quite the fashion for a mob to form with the aim of getting hold of the offender and executing summary justice.

While the newspaper press, as in duty bound, condemns these attempts as barbarous and cries out for the punishment of the lynchers, it is certain that public opinion is disposed to be very lenient to them, provided the crime is an atrocious one, and there is no doubt as to the guilt of the lynched individual.

Now, such a tendency as this in the oldest communities of the United States to a reversion to mob law for the execution of justice is calculated to set the social student thinking. What does it mean?

We think there is no difficulty in answering the question. The explanation is that the people of the United States have ceased, with good reason, to regard the administration of justice by the criminal courts with respect or confidence. There is no civilized land in which technicality and legal finesse are permitted to delay, confuse and defeat the administration of law in criminal cases as they are in the United States.

There is no part of the world, unless it be Russia, in which a man with money enough to hire good legal talent, has reason to be so confident of escaping punishment, whatever his crime, as in this boasted land of enlightenment and equality before the law.

The chance that any particular murderer under arrest will be hung, is probably about one in ten, if we compare the number of murders with the number of executions. An insurance company for the purpose of insuring the lives of murderers under arrest would only have to charge a moderate advance on the usual rates to be doing a fairly safe business.

Is it any wonder under such a state of things that lynching should grow in popularity. When a sheriff appeals to a mob to deliver up an offender to the law in the assurance that justice will be done, the mob knows better. It knows that the chance that justice will be done is very small. Even when at last a murderer is executed, the delay has been so great and the facts have been so muddled by the lawyers that the crime is almost forgotten. A reaction of

sympathy for the prisoner, natural under the circumstances, has set in which robs the execution of all moral effect, and makes it seem like an assassination in cold blood. In all ways is justice defeated.

We do not wish to be misunderstood as in any way justifying or advocating lynching, but we wish to point out that the explanation for its prevalence is the delay and defeat of justice, which is the rule rather than the exception in our criminal courts.

The root cause of this condition of things is the admission of the mercenary motive into the administration of law by the toleration of advocates hired by prisoners and interested, not in the furtherance of justice, but the acquittal by all and any means of the accused persons who hire them. By the theory of our common law the lawyer is an "officer of the court," but in fact, according to modern custom, he is the officer and agent of the prisoner at the bar, who, if guilty, has every motive to defeat the purpose of the court.

We do not permit the private persons in interest to pay the judges or the jurors; why should we permit them to pay the lawyer, upon whose cunning the result of the trial quite as much depends as upon either judge or jury? Criminal lawyers are the keenest, most astute men of the professional classes, and their means of livelihood under the present system in this country depends on their success in thwarting, delaying, and tripping up justice at every step.

Is it any wonder that lynching increases?

Not only does this state of things constitute a great impediment to justice in general, but it also is the occasion of grievous inequality before the law as between the rich and poor. There are some lawyers in every town whose retention for an accused person adds 25 per cent to the chances of an acquittal. These lawyers are high-priced, and the well-to-do only can get them. The cheap lawyer is usually a poor lawyer, but he is the only sort the poor man can afford. It is not on account of the unfairness of the judges that the poor man has so little chance in court. It is because he cannot afford a good lawyer.

What is the remedy? How shall we cure the delays and uncertainties of justice and at the same time give the poor prisoner an equal chance with the rich? It is not difficult to answer this question.

No one, of course, would wish to deprive an accused person of a fair defense, but the cause of the people against the accused is certainly as important as that of the accused against the people, and if a public prosecutor suffices to protect the interest of the people, surely a public defender, equally without private interest in the case, is all the accused can reasonably ask. This, then, we believe to be the solution. There should be connected with every criminal court a public defender as well as a public prosecutor, an official employed at a fixed salary and forbidden to take fees. He should be a high-grade lawyer, as good as the public prosecutor, and his salary should be the same. It should be his business to present the prisoner's side in every case brought to the bar, without charge to the prisoner, who should be allowed to have no other counsel in court.

The result of this system would be, the public defender

being unmoved by expectations of fees dependent on the result, that the presentation of the prisoner's case would be fair, temperate and adequate, but that no special pleading or special devices would be employed to delay or defeat justice. On the other hand, the public prosecutor, not being opposed as now by paid attorneys, but by a public officer without interest in the case, would cease to show the vindictiveness toward the prisoner which now so often scandalizes justice, but would confine himself, as he always should, to a clear presentation of the evidence. In order to cultivate more fully a just and temperate disposition on the part of these two officers of the court, it would be well for them to be required to exchange duties every year.

The advantages of such a system would be (1.) Trials would be short, delays and unreasonable appeals infrequent. (2.) The poor man accused of crime would have exactly as fair a trial as the rich man, without expense. (3.) The jury, no longer purposely muddled by lawyers bent for personal profit on acquittal without regard to facts, would be far more likely to give just verdicts. (4.) By shortening trials and lessening the number of appeals, this plan would greatly reduce the expenses of courts. (5.) By securing speedy execution of the law, it would satisfy the people with the administration of justice, and do more to discourage lynching than an army of sheriff's deputies in every county.

Let us have the public defender. This is a reform in the interest of the poor.

Let us have free justice.

A Case in Point.

Both the republican and democratic conventions demand the enforcement of anti-trust laws, and the enactment, if necessary, of additional laws to exterminate commercial combinations. It would be quite as sensible to resolve in favor of a measure to abolish the attraction of gravitation. The laws of competitive trade antedate political legislation. The very month in which the old parties level their quaker guns against the battlements of private capital, the steel rail trust, in session at New York City, decides that steel be maintained at \$30 per ton. The cost of raw material has been gradually declining for a year and a half, while the steel has as gradually risen under the law of private competition, which is rhetoric for the right to conspire commercially against the consuming public. The trusts fear neither the old parties nor the courts of law. The old parties are committed to a system of business that enables private parties to exploit public functions, and these vast political organizations cannot be maintained without money. Here is the key of the situation.

It may be asked how the corporations and trusts can afford to "pay the shot." Take the steel trust. During the last six years Bessemer pig iron, the raw material now in steel manufacture, has declined from \$17.61 to \$14 per ton. Steel rails, upon the other hand, have advanced during that time from \$28.50 to \$30 per ton. As a business proposition it is profitable for the trust to pay liberally to keep the old parties at work propping up the present economic system.

With a cheapening of raw material and a rising scale of prices for manufactured goods, one would fancy that the

condition of the laborer would be decidedly improved in the steel works. But such is not the case. They seem to be on the eve of an industrial war at Pittsburgh, Pa., precipitated by wholesale reductions in wages. Carnegie announces that he will hereafter recognize individuals and not unions, and it is to be noted that the same word has been sent out of the iron league composed of all the iron manufacturers in New York City. If the manufacturers carry their point, there will be wholesale reductions of wages all along the lines. We are of the opinion that so long as the manufacturer dominates the republican and democratic parties, he will dominate the labor community. Allied capital has one vulnerable point, politics, and the sooner the wage-workers perceive this and take independent political action, the better it will be for them and for the community at large.

FROM THE NEW NATION MAIL BOX.

H. R. of Los Angeles:—Long may The New Nation wave as the great eye-opener of the 19th century.

S. P. P. of Cloverdale, Ind.:—Nationalism has struck this community like a cyclone.

W. L. L. of Philadelphia, Pa.:—I have been watching the attitude of leading politicians and newspapers with intense interest and if the "first principles of nationalism" do not make a great stir in politics this year I shall be much surprised.

J. J. of Auburn, Mass.:—I have read The New Nation since it started, and since the days of the Liberator none has appeared equal to it. I have worked, prayed and paid for the prohibition party from its start. . . . Your plan is by far the best and I will gladly work for it.

J. W. of Beverly, Mass.:—You are to be congratulated at always just filling the measure but never slopping over.

H. J. C. of Great Falls, Mon.:—I have been a subscriber to The New Nation since its birth, and think it has done a very practical thing in reducing the subscription to \$1 per year. It certainly ought to increase its circulation and will thereby do a greater amount of good. The impending crisis must come to an issue sooner or later. The people are beginning to see that there is something radically wrong. They want to be shown what it is, the remedy for for it, and The New Nation stands in the front rank of all reform papers to do that service.

SOCIAL REFORM AND POLITICS.

At a late meeting of the Toronto, Ont., Nationalist Association, Phillips Thompson delivered an able address upon the "Best Methods of Political Action." He said: "Labor men have preferred to stick to the old parties in the hope of obtaining concessions. Comparatively nothing has been gained by this method, and in late years the tendency of the parties has been against rather than in favor of liberal reforms." The requests of the labor-body are now practically disregarded. It was shown that the single tax party in the United States had attempted to influence the democratic party, and the result has been that the single taxers accomplished nothing and were swamped. The only method that will prove effective is to start an entirely new political organization. Social reform, not merely labor reform, is what is necessary. We must seek to benefit all, not one class to the injury of another. We should put a candidate in the field and keep him there until we win. The earlier campaigns must be educational. But eventually there will be success."

DIAMONDS.

If every one of my brother men
Had work enough for his hands or his head,
At any labor—from pickaxe to pen—
To buy for his children their daily bread,
I might wear with pride a diamond ring
On this hand I offer them all, as kin;
Nor think how the price the bauble would bring
Might have saved some life from distress and sin.

If every one of my sisterhood
Could earn enough to keep out of "the street,"
Nor eke a precarious livelihood
By singing "A Song of the Shirt" complete,
I might wear fine diamonds at my throat
While prating of Christ and His charity,
Nor feel I belied the words that I quote
And followed the lead of the Pharisee.

If every little wandering waif
Was sheltered and nourished and wisely taught
That the path of virtue alone is safe
And he is the best whom the best has wrought,
I might wear a solitaire in each ear
And shine like a star in the borrowed light;
But the orphan's cry is too loud and near;
I could never feel that the act was right.

For I know that man is the "Son of God,"
And every woman a daughter of Him;
And every child is an heir to the sod,
If might for the right were a synonym;
And not you nor I may wear "cloth of gold"
And our jewels flash in the weakened eyes
Of the ones who stitch in hunger and cold
To make the fine raiment that hides our lies,

And escape the justice which soon or late
Brings every wrong to a judgment sure,
And proves what a wretchedly mean estate
We gain when we take from the weak and poor.
We can never do "what we would that they
Should do unto us" while we hold one soul
From its own inherited right away;
We shall surely find a "reckoning day"
When we pay most dear for the things we stole.

LYDIA R. CHASE in Twentieth Century.

Parkland, Pa.

THE TRUE LAW OF EQUAL FREEDOM.

There has just been issued by The New Nation Publishing company a brochure of 29 pages by Prof. Frank Parsons of the Boston University, with the title of "Government and the Law of Equal Freedom." Pending a review of this admirable publication, we quote what the professor has to say concerning the true law of equal freedom.

"The true law of equal freedom is that every living thing shall have full freedom except where reason and experience demand a limitation, and then equal application of the limitation and exemption from it to all men under the same circumstances.

"Each should be free to do all he wills so long as he does not do what is wrong, and in deciding what is wrong for him to do, the personal element shall be eliminated from the law, and he shall be permitted to do the same acts that others are permitted to do under the same circumstances. Prohibitions and permissions shall look, not to the person,

but to the nature of the act and its essential surroundings. If gambling is wrong for Mr. Z. at Five Points, then it is wrong for Mr. V. in Wall street, unless it can be shown that an idle and unproductive life, and a feverish effort to win B.'s property away from him without any equivalent is proper, when the street is a fine one, and millions are involved, although very mischievous when the street is a dirty one, and the stakes are small. This is not an equality of spheres of action for A. and B., but an equality by which similar faculties in A. and B. have equal rights to act under similar circumstances.

"Indeed, the law is complete even if we stop with the phrase 'demand a limitation,' for the equal application of limitations to all men alike under the same circumstances, which is what we mean by 'impartiality,' is itself a limitation of the freedom of one man or all men, in the exercise of control over fellowmen or other living things, the necessity of which has been worked out by experience and reason.

"This impartiality is an essential element of justice, and it is so regarded the whole world over, and it is this which really underlies Spencer's phrase, 'do the like,' — a phrase that is unobjectionable if joined with proper qualifying clauses and not left to do the whole work of limiting freedom. Liberty of B., C., D., etc., to do the like act as A., if they are placed under the same circumstances that are held to justify the said act on A.'s part, is undoubtedly one of the limitations of freedom demanded by experience and reason, but it is not the only limitation, even when the qualifying clause is added.

"Full freedom,' the presumption is in favor of individual liberty always. Prima facie freedom means happiness. Reason must make out a clear case for every limitation it proposes, upon the testimony of experienced facts. But when the evidence is clear, the limit must be imposed and maintained until cause is shown for its withdrawal.

"And note this happy truth — the pressure of the limitation moulds our plastic human nature so that after a while it ceases to be a limitation — our wills do not desire to move outside the lines laid down by reason and experience, and individual liberty is entire. The blessed fact is that all limitations of liberty are temporary. If wrong, they must die by revolt. If right, they must form mankind into harmony with themselves.

"Greatest happiness of humanity' not of the king or of any class, but of all mankind. The common weal is the only justification for any limitation, and it is a sufficient justification for any limitation. Let us see to what it leads:

1. Greatest happiness is the object. 2. Therefore conflict must cease. 3. Therefore co-operation must become universal. 4. And this co-operation must have management. 5. Wherefore a central control or government of our whole industrial life must result, and hence we look for a great enlargement of the sphere of government. It is simply the integration of industry according to the requirements and predictions of Spencer's own law of evolution.

"Again, 1. Greatest happiness is the object of all institutions and activities, government included.

"2. Therefore no one must be permitted to do what is clearly wrong, if he can be prevented without a cost greater than the gain.

"Every one should be encouraged to do what is clearly right, by all means not costing more than the gain they secure.

"4. In the region of doubtful conduct men should be free to act in all directions, that the true line of conduct

may be revealed by the results of many experiments.

"5. That every individual should receive the fullest opportunities for the development of his peculiar faculties is one of the teachings of experience under the 3d head. It is only in this way that mankind can secure the rich benefits of genius and accidental human variations. When this free individual development comes in conflict with the teachings of experience under the second head, then the question of cost is the determining one, — will the gain by leaving the doors of action open in the direction in question be greater than the loss by resulting wrong conduct? The presumption is with freedom; restriction bears the burden of proof.

"6. The best must prosper most, and prima facie each individual must suffer and enjoy the burdens and benefits causatively connected with or proportionately due to each of his qualities, and each of his actions. But —

"7. Experience and reason show that great advantages accrue from equalizing the lives of men upon a lower plane, in order that their whole efforts for prosperity and superiority may flow on higher lines, and in order to save energy and time, through the simplification of human life. For example, putting all men on an equality in respect to security of life from private attack, saves the energy given in savage times to the training of every man for self-defense — a training that absorbed nearly the whole life of every able-bodied man. This energy now goes into industry and intellectual pursuits. Giving all men in a wide class one ballot each, makes democratic government a very simple affair compared with what it would be if each individual were given a share of balloting power in proportion to his age, ability, knowledge, services, etc.; according to the 'all consequence' or the 'merit' rule. And is it not possible that economic equality would drive the grand forces that are working for human development out of the region of the dollar and into the realms of the soul?

"8. Full freedom, except to cause detrimental pain, is a short formula identical with our law of equal freedom as above expressed — pain being understood to mean absence of pleasure that is due, as well as positive twinges of the nerves of sensation, and experience and reason being the tests of what is detrimental, — one of the most important teachings of these authorities being that partiality is evil whether in an individual or a state. Under the same essential circumstances the right act is always the same, — an act that cannot become a universal rule of conduct under the same conditions is unrighteous, — this is the truth at the heart of the golden rule.

"A government that enforces the true law of equal freedom and justice cannot leave men free to make contracts that involve gambling, prostitution, drunkenness or other crimes, such as working children in mines or factories, or enslaving men in the sweatshop. For the good of the community clearly requires that such iniquitous and embroiling contracts should never be made at all. Nor will the true state permit the use of prosperity as a press to squeeze the life and labor out of men, as a cider maker squeezes the juice from his apples. A law of freedom that says 'Hands off! — let men be free to bargain and sell as they will — let them handle their property as they wish, although the sugar trust taxes the country a round thirty million a year beyond the fair price of their product, and the telegraph companies charge 20 times a just profit, and the Standard Oil company and coal combination follow their compeers' illustrious examples in robbing the people, while men and women are ground into dust, and labor their lives out for a less compensation in all that makes living worth while, than many a savage receives in a heathen land.

"The true state will use every means in its power to encourage good conduct, and repress what is evil. And to compass these purposes will sweep away misapplied theories, mathematical, metaphysical or political, and follow a clear common sense wherever it happens to lead."

NATIONALISM IN POLITICS.

ON THE EVE OF THE OMAHA CONVENTION.

The Dignity of the Reform Movement at Stake. Various Conventions. Note and Comment.

The first national convention of the people's party called to nominate a president of the United States meets at Omaha this morning.

After a temporary organization and routine business, the convention will adjourn until the Fourth, when the nominations will be made.

The people's party expects every citizen to do his duty to his country.

Good citizenship is good politics.

There is no room in a new party for personal rivalries. The best man if he can be found should be put up.

If he is a southern man, all the better. We are one country.

The principles of the new party have been very well put forth in the St. Louis platform. The call for the Omaha convention was for delegates believing in that platform.

We think it would be a mistake to open that question. It is the best declaration of principles proclaimed by any party since the war. A grand fight can be made on it. Why not reaffirm that platform, make our wills, and try conclusions with the corporations, monopolies and trusts?

Gov. Penoyer of Oregon, who did noble work for the people's party in the late campaign in that state is spoken of as a presidential or vice-presidential possibility.

The Rocky Mountain News, Denver, edited by Mr. Patterson, who attempted to change the financial plank at Chicago, has bolted the democratic ticket. The News denounces both parties for their Wall-street tendencies on the currency question and continues: "Time will point out a path. In God's providence the right will find a way to triumph. Let the democrats and republicans of Colorado, who love their homes and the state's prosperity better than they do the fortunes of any candidates, hold fast to independence, that they may travel that path when it is opened."

The retirement of Chairman Clarkson of the republican national committee is simply an incident. W. J. Campbell who succeeds him is attorney for the Chicago gas trust and the confidential attorney for the Armour's. The committee will continue to be run in the interest of corporations and and capital.

Civil service reform democrats will have their trial this year in carrying Headsman Stevenson. The only way to reform some organizations is to bury them.

It Looks Squally to a Nebraska Republican.

John M. Thurston of Nebraska, chairman of the republi-

can national convention of 1888 sees trouble ahead for the republican party in the West. His belief that the people's party will fuse with the democrats, however, is based upon fear rather than knowledge. "While I have no doubt," Mr. Thurston tells a New York reporter, "that the republican ticket will win, there are some signs of the times in the alliance states that look squally to me. In Nebraska, for instance, there is a well-organized movement on the part of the democrats to form a coalition with the alliance or people's party for the purpose of destroying the state as a stronghold, and if this movement continues to progress with the rapidity which has characterized it so far, the electoral vote of Nebraska will be seriously affected. The stories of the disintegration of the people's party are very far from being true, and their reported intention of joining forces with the democrats under certain conditions may well cause alarm to the republicans not only of Nebraska, but of several other western states."

A South Carolina Delegate to Chicago fears the Worst.

A South Carolina delegate who did what he could to defeat Cleveland had this to say about the situation in his state after the convention adjourned: "I shall go home and work hard for the ticket, but I fear that the Farmers' alliance will gather new impetus, and that the party will be so strong in our state we shall come in second best. I cannot say that the republicans are likely to secure the electoral votes, but that party will become stronger than it has been heretofore. Seriously, there is great danger of our losing the state."

Another Paper Surprised.

Boston Herald: The announcement that Judge Gresham of Indiana is in sympathy with the principles of the people's party, and that his name is being considered in connection with the party's nomination for the presidency, looks almost incredible. His nomination would make things highly interesting among the farmers of the West and Northwest.

Pennsylvania is all Right.

The report that the recent state convention of the people's party at Franklin recommended Leland Stanford for president is incorrect. The convention favored a people's party man and not a millionaire republican. C. A. Burrows of Sharpsburg, a delegate to the convention being interviewed by a reporter said: "I am a follower of Edward Bellamy. I have always been a republican until within a few years, but I became disgusted with party machinery. The government should control all sources of wealth, and thus the people would own what rightfully belongs to them. Mines, railroads, telegraphs and navigation should be owned by the government, and men should be employed where they would be of the most benefit to society, and they should be well paid. The plan is feasible if the people make it feasible."

The New York Times makes a Discovery.

We quote below from an editorial of the New York Times. While it shows dense ignorance of the political situation and rests in the assurance that the people's party will help the democrats and injure the republicans, the utterance of the Times is important as the first intimation on the part of that journal that the new party has even a

remote chance to figure in the electoral college. This is quite a discovery for the Times. It should know, however, that for every republican state likely to choose people's party electors, we can name a democratic state ready to do the same. Here is what the Times says in part: "One of the greatest surprises of the day in the political world is the announcement that Judge Gresham of Indiana avows his sympathy with the principles and purposes of the people's party, except the sub-treasury scheme, which he regards as 'visionary and impracticable,' and would be disposed, but for pecuniary considerations, to accept from it the nomination for the presidency. It has long been known that Judge Gresham was somewhat out of sympathy with the republican party, especially with its extreme position on the tariff and its attitude in regard to controlling elections in the South, but his political sanity has not been under suspicion. The St. Louis conference, which was the beginning of the organized movement for the people's party and from which emanated the call for a national convention to be held at Omaha on the 4th of July, adopted substantially the same platform, with the addition of a demand that the government own and operate the railroads and the telegraphs and the telephones of the country. The favorable crops of last year and the consequent relief from some of the stress under which the agricultural interests were suffering have greatly diminished the vitality of the Farmers' alliance and people's party movement, but such eminent republicans as ex-Senator Ingalls of Kansas and John M. Thurston of Nebraska are apprehensive that the third party will figure with some effect in the campaign of this year, especially in the agricultural states of the West. "The effect of the third party movement will therefore be chiefly felt in the republican states of the northwest. It may draw largely from both parties in the 'silver states,' but with the exception of Montana these are republican states. In Kansas two years ago the Farmers' alliance fairly upset the republican party and it has not yet recovered its equilibrium. A good deal may depend upon the action of the Omaha convention, but it would not be surprising if the people's party should overturn the political balance in several of the states which are no longer to be rated as 'safely republican.'"

What Judge Gresham Says.

"I would say that the control of elections and legislation by the corrupt use of money more than anything else menaces popular government and the public peace. If these abuses are speedily checked the consequences are likely to be disastrous. If the people are convinced that they cannot rely on the ballot as a means of expressing their choice of men and measures, there will be a revolt the like of which the country has not yet witnessed. The most insidious of all forms of tyranny is that of plutocracy. Thoughtful men see and admit that our country is becoming less and less democratic and more and more plutocratic. The ambition and self love of some men are so great that they are incapable of loving their country."

In a Position to Dictate Terms.

Ex-Senator Tobin of Minnesota thinks more of the numerical strength of the people's party than its principles. He does not mind making this admission: "The result is

that, far from disintegrating and gradually melting away, the people's party has gained in strength for the past two years and is now in a position to dictate terms to the republican party."

Oregon Surprises the Old Parties.

The Garfield Enterprise, a republican paper, says: "The vote of the people's party in Oregon has been a great surprise to the politicians. Although only organized a short time, in many counties it ran neck and neck with democracy, swept at least one county completely and elected part of its ticket in several others. With the prestige gained by this showing of strength, should Pennoyer be nominated for vice president by the Omaha convention, Oregon may be classed among the doubtful states, for one blast upon his bugle horn is worth 5,000 votes, and with the democracy in a hopeless minority they will incline to vote with the people's party to down the republicans. Politicians in this state are a shade more thoughtful as they look forward to the November election."

The Old Parties getting Serious.

Washington dispatch to the Boston Herald: Congressman Pierce says that he will support the ticket and that he believes Tennessee will give Cleveland her electoral vote. This seems to be the opinion of the representatives of other southern states, although now and then one is found that declares that the third party will make the fight a close one, and may give his state over to the republicans. Tennessee is not one of the states where this danger is greatest. The states where real danger seems to be feared are North Carolina and South Carolina, where the Farmers' alliance has in many districts assumed complete control of the democratic party. The republicans, however, admit that they are in equal danger in North and South Dakota, Minnesota, Kansas and Nebraska. Senator Pettigrew of South Dakota declares that, if the third party does not carry his state, the vote will be a close one and he thinks the same of Kansas."

People's Party Conventions.

The Missouri conventions of the people's party met at Sedalia on June 22 and nominated Leverett Leonard for governor and a full state ticket. Mr. Leverett is president of the Missouri Farmers' alliance.

The people's party ticket nominated at Dallas, June 25, is as follows: Governor, T. C. Nugent; lieutenant-governor, Marion Marten, ex-democratic Congressman; controller, J. F. Drake of Seguin; treasurer, P. E. McCulloch; land commissioner, S. D. A. Duncan; superintendent of public instruction, C. L. Ammons.

Trouble for the Old Parties in Colorado.

The Colorado delegates at Chicago sent home the following dispatch after the Cleveland nomination: "The nomination of Grover Cleveland and the palpably evasive declarations upon the silver question by the national democratic convention confront the democratic party of Colorado with a serious problem. It is plain that with Mr. Cleveland president, free coinage cannot be realized during the term of his administration. As between Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Harrison, there can be no choice for free coinage men. The question is presented to both the democratic and republican voter, can they honestly aid either of them to the

presidency? This is not a question for us to answer; it is for the party. We recommend that the proper authority shall call the party together in convention that the matters involved may be passed upon by it."

Michigan in the Middle of the Road.

The people's party convention at Lansing, June 16 was the largest gathering of reformers in the history of the state. President Cole of the Michigan Farmers' alliance was made chairman. The convention indorsed the St. Louis platform, denounced the moneyed aristocracy, and declared against fusion. A resolution was passed recommending that nine inspectors be elected by the people.

A Georgia Victory.

There was a special election in Glascock county, Ga. (Congressman's Watson's district), caused by the death of the ordinary. The democrats made it a test of strength, and the people's party candidate, J. C. English, was elected two to one. Georgia is lost to the democracy, and Congressman Watson is a coming man.

Note and Comment.

John M. Pease of South Dakota:—"Keep in the middle of the road" and not throw out of the wagon (which is in sight of the White House) any of our principles. Let us keep our original base. Such a course will give us character and win the confidence of the people. I have many other good reasons, but time and space are limited.

Gen. A. J. Warner of Ohio: "The millionaires captured both conventions and whichever man wins, the moneyed men have finished their work. They will spend no more cash fighting free silver. There hasn't been so much feeling among voters since 1860. If the people's party will put a representative man in the field, their candidate stands a good show of carrying a number of states. I expect to see the election thrown into the House."

Montrose Sentinel: It is very suggestive to note the growing tendency of the people's party to incorporate nationalism in its state platforms. In fact, the St. Louis platform is, so far as it goes, almost entirely nationalistic in its demands and the Omaha platform will, undoubtedly, go still further. Henceforth, the history of the people's party is likely to be the history of nationalism.

Philadelphia Times: The unknown quantity of the contest is the degree of sloughing off from either party to fall in with third or fourth party experiments. The Farmers' alliance, the free silver and the labor elements may grow to huge proportions. They hold the balance of power in one third or more of the states of the union, and the nomination of Cleveland and Harrison give them abundant provocation to set up for themselves, if they so incline.

Senator Quay remarks to a friend at Philadelphia: "The Farmers' alliance looks like a break in the South and we have nothing to lose down that way. The election in the Mills district indicates a very weak spot in Texas."

G. H. of Home City, Kan.: The leading members of the Farmers' alliance are going very fast into nationalism.

"A sockless ditch-digger" is what Jerry Simpson's republican opponent for congressional honors calls Mr. Simp-

son, and Simpson speaks of his antagonist as "my neighbor, a gentleman, a scholar, and a mighty good fellow." The people's party leaders are beginning right.

Now that ex-Senator Ingalls has been kind enough to say that "contrary to the general impression" the Farmers' alliance is keeping well together, and that Kansas is a doubtful state, possibly our esteemed contemporaries of the old party press may note the fact that there is a people's party organization in Kansas."

The New York people's party will hold meetings at room 24, Cooper Union, New York city, every Monday evening until election.

New York Sun: A third ticket headed by Gresham would upset all calculations based on experience in the West and the Southwest and render still more imperative the necessity of carrying New York, if the next president is to be a democrat and the force bill project is to be beaten.

The St. Louis Convention Address to the Public.

This, the first great labor conference of the United States and of the world, representing all divisions of urban and rural organized industry, assembled in national congress, invoking upon its action the blessing and protection of Almighty God, puts forth to and for the producers of the nation this declaration of union and independence.

The conditions which surround us best justify our co-operation. We meet in the midst of a nation brought to the verge of moral, political and material ruin. Corruption dominates the ballot box, the Legislatures, the Congress and touches even the ermine of the bench. The people are demoralized. Many of the states have been compelled to isolate the voters at the polling places in order to prevent universal intimidation or bribery.

The newspapers are subsidized or muzzled, public opinion silenced, business prostrated, our homes covered with mortgages, labor impoverished and the land concentrated in the hands of capitalists. The urban workmen are denied the right of organization for self-protection, imported pauperized labor beats down their wages, a hireling standing army, unrecognized by our laws, is established to shoot them down and they are rapidly degenerating European conditions.

The fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes, unprecedented in the history of the world, while their possessors despise the republic and endanger liberty. From the same prolific womb of governmental injustice we breed the two great classes—paupers and millionaires. The national power to create money is appropriated to enrich bondholders; silver, which has been accepted as coin since the dawn of history, has been demonetized to add to the purchasing power of gold by decreasing the value of all forms of property, as well as human labor, and the supply of currency is purposely abridged to fatten usurers, bankrupt enterprise and enslave industry. A vast conspiracy against mankind has been organized on two continents and is taking possession of the world. If not met and overthrown at once, it forebodes terrible social convulsions, the destruction of civilization or the establishment of an absolute despotism.

In this crisis of human affairs the intelligent working people and producers of the United States have come together, in the name of peace, order and society, to defend liberty, prosperity and justice.

We declare our union and independence. We assert our purpose to vote with that political organization which represents our principles.

We charge that the controlling influences dominating the old political parties have allowed the existing dreadful conditions to develop without serious effect to restrain or prevent them. Neither do they now intend to accomplish reform. They have agreed together to ignore, in the com-

ing campaign, every issue but one. They propose to drown the outcries of a plundered people with the uproar of a sham battle over the tariff; so that corporations, national banks, rings, trusts, watered stocks, the demonetization of silver and the oppressions of usurers may all be lost sight of. They propose to sacrifice our homes and children upon the altar of mammon; to destroy the hopes of the multitude in order to secure corruption funds from the great lords of plunder.

We assert that a political organization, representing the political principles herein stated, is necessary to redress the grievances of which we complain.

Assembled on the anniversary of the birth of the illustrious man who led the first great revolution on this continent against oppression, filled with the sentiment which actuated that grand generation, we seek to restore the government of the republic to the hands of the "plain people," with whom it originated. Our doors are open to all points of the compass. We ask all honest men to join with and help us.

In order to restrain the extortions of aggregated capital, to drive the money changers out of the temple, to form a perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity, we do ordain and establish the following platform of principles:

The Platform.

We declare the union of the labor forces of the United States, this day accomplished, permanent and perpetual. May its spirit enter into all hearts for the salvation of the republic and the uplifting of mankind.

Wealth belongs to him who creates it. Every dollar taken from industry without an equivalent is robbery. "If any will not work, neither shall he eat." The interests of rural and urban labor are the same; their enemies are identical.

Money.

We demand a national currency, safe, sound, and flexible, issued by the general government only, a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, and that without the use of banking corporations; a just, equitable means of circulation, at a tax not to exceed two per cent., as set forth in the sub-treasury plan of the Farmers' alliance, or some better system; also by payments in discharge of its obligations for public improvements.

We demand free and unlimited coinage of silver.

We demand that the amount of circulating medium be speedily increased to not less than \$50 per capita.

We demand a graduated income tax.

We believe that the money of the country should be kept as much as possible in the hands of the people, and hence we demand that all national and state revenues shall be limited to the necessary expenses of the government, economically and honestly administered.

We demand that postal savings banks be established by the government, for the safe deposit of the earnings of the people, and to facilitate exchange.

Land.

The land, including all the natural resources of wealth, is the heritage of the people, and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes, and alien ownership of land should be prohibited. All lands now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs, and all lands now owned by aliens, should be reclaimed by the government and held for actual settlers only.

Transportation.

Transportation being a means of exchange and a public necessity, the government should own and operate the railroads in the interest of the people.

The telegraph and telephone, like the postoffice system,

being a necessity for transmission of news, should be owned and operated by the government in the interest of the people.

INDIANA VS. THE VANDALIA RAILROAD.

To the Editor of The New Nation:—

From a recently published pamphlet by state librarian Jacob P. Dunn, entitled "The New Tax Law of Indiana and The Science of Taxation," I excerpt the following: "In Indiana, prior to the constitution of 1851, charters of corporations were granted by the Legislature and without compensation to the state, but there is reason to believe that a portion of the members were not wholly paid by the state for their services. Obtaining charters, especially for railroad companies, became so difficult and so expensive that the constitutional convention was persuaded to require a system of incorporation under general laws, and thereafter the thrifty legislator was obliged to seek other fields for the exercise of financial genius, while the state continued to receive nothing as before."

There was, prior to 1851, one exception that is worthy of remark. The charter of the Terre Haute and Richmond railroad company (now commonly known as the Vandalia), provided that after the dividends should have equalled the capital invested and 10 per cent per annum thereon, any profits in excess of 15 per cent per annum should be turned over to the school fund, and it was made the duty of the company "to furnish the Legislature, if required, with a correct statement of the amount of expenditures and the amount of profits after deducting all expenses." From the extraordinary liberality of these terms it is evident that the incorporators did not anticipate any payment to the state, and yet the profits of the company have been such that it is practically certain that it now owes the state a large sum of money. In some strange way the road has always succeeded in preventing the Legislature from demanding an account of profits, and by even more remarkable maneuvering it has prevented any final action on the subject in the courts. One trial on the merits of the case was secured in 1872 in Owen county, and the jury disagreed, standing 11 to 1 in favor of the state. The judge discharged the jury at 3 o'clock in the morning, in the absence of all the attorneys, and subsequently the attorney-general, who had previously insisted on maintaining this action, dismissed the case without consulting his colleagues. Later, another suit was brought in Marion county, and taken to the supreme court, but a part of the papers, for some mysterious reason, had not been copied into the record, and on this technicality the suit was lost. No person of common intelligence will question that this line of fighting is very expensive to the company. None will doubt that if the company was not largely indebted to the state it would much prefer to have judicial settlement in the matter and so end it. This case stands at present as one in which a great commonwealth has been wholly unable to compel common honesty from a Frankenstein of its own creation, and as the solitary and not very encouraging example of this state's endeavor to secure compensation for a franchise."

W. L. DYER.

Richmond, Ind., June, 1892.

NATIONALISTIC DRIFT.

Items of Industrial, Political, Social and Commercial Intelligence indicating the approaching Breakup of the Present System and the Tendency through Business Combinations and Public Control of Industry toward Complete National Co-operation.

Massachusetts.

Prominent tenement house-owners in Boston, Lowell, Lawrence and other cities have organized landlord leagues. Quarterly bulletins are issued by these leagues, giving the names of parties who have been evicted for non-payment of rent. No distinction is made between unavoidable poverty and tenants who do not intend to pay their rent when they take apartments. There are 1200 names on the black list of the Boston Landlord's league. The arrears of 1000 of these evicted tenants probably do not average over \$25. The league is thus practically leveled at the laborer and poorer classes in the community. This black list is spoken of by the landlords as composed of swindlers and yet if the opportunities for labor were equalized so that men willing to work would never be idle, the black list of "swindlers" would undoubtedly be cut down to a few dozen.

New York.

The coal dealers of Lockport formed an exchange last winter and adopted a constitution which provided that prices for coal should be fixed by their body and prohibiting any member from selling under the prices adopted, and penalties were prescribed for any violation of the constitution. One of the dealers withdrew from the exchange and upon a complaint made by him, four members of the executive committee were indicted by the grand jury for conspiracy. The trial came off last week and the jury brought in a verdict of guilty. The case will be appealed.

Missouri.

It is believed that the vast lead and zinc industries of the state, including the numerous smelters, are to pass into the hands of a foreign syndicate. J. D. Rockefeller having recently been looking over the various properties lends probability to the report.

Texas.

The Fort Worth Advance: With government ownership of railroads and telegraphs, two kinds of monster monopolies will vanish. Other monopolies, like mines, oils, wire, sugar, etc., could be similarly taken in as the people are prepared for them.

Louisiana.

The Comrade (Winfield): The government must own and operate the lines of transportation and communication or else these lines will own and operate the government.

Maryland.

The Baltimore Nationalist club recently celebrated its third anniversary. Rev. Edward Tallmadge Root, pastor of the Second Congregational church delivered the address, the subject being "The man who taught me nationalism." The club has adjourned until September, when it is intended to institute a series of lectures on nationalism.

South Dakota.

United States Commissioner W. H. Lyons has applied to the city of Sioux Falls, S.D., for authority to run the saloons of the municipality for the city. He recently appeared before the city council and said: "I want to go into the saloon business and want the city as a partner." He went into details of a plan whereby the city should absolutely control and run all the saloons. The number of dispen-

saries would be governed by the territory to be covered, after the style of the post office. Mr. Lyons claimed that the result to the city would be an increase of \$35,000 per year. So sure is he of the success of the plan that he offers to put up the money necessary to make the experiment and turn the business over to the city's control. The mayor will appoint a committee to investigate. The matter is being widely and favorably discussed and the experiment will probably be made.

Michigan.

Lansing will vote upon a proposition to bond the city for \$60,000 for a municipal electric light plant on the 29th.

Illinois.

The transportation interests of the International and the Chicago Packing and Provision companies, both of Chicago, have been consolidated and will be known as the Provision Dealers Dispatch.

California.

The raisin growers and packers of Fresno county will form a combine this year to control prices. Fresno can control half of all the raisins produced in this country, so that the combination will probably make itself felt.

Miscellaneous.

Journal of Commerce (Boston): There is not a city in the United States where the trolley has been introduced in which it is not denounced most fiercely by the great majority of the people, but if it was all to be done over again, the venture would succeed. Organized aggression, with unlimited means at its command, is wellnigh irresistible.

Foreign.

At a recent meeting held in Liverpool, Eng., under the auspices of the Nationalization of Labor society, Rev. J. J. Woodford of Manchester presided and advocated more united action on the part of societies with kindred objects. John Orme of London, president of the society, spoke on state socialism for the people and said "Looking Backward" was the ideal toward which he would steer, but urged the support of all measures tending in that direction. The eight hour day, co-operation and free education were a few of the things he thought could be brought about soon. He said that "Each for all and all for each" was the motto of the society. Miss Cavanagh of the Liverpool Tailoring Co-operative society gave an account of the working of that organization, in which the workers received 50 per cent of the profits and the purchasers 30 per cent. Ten per cent was reserved and 10 per cent was devoted to the propagation of the principles of the society. The trades union wages were paid and decent workshops were provided.

The leases of the tramway companies of both Edinburgh and Glasgow, Scot., expire soon—the former in 1893 and the latter in 1894, and it is not expected that there will be a renewal in either case. In fact the city officials of Glasgow have already decided that the municipality shall operate the lines.

There is a strong movement in Germany in favor of the nationalization of land, and [Free Land is its organ. This paper contains an account of the recent evangelical-social congress in Berlin. A Frankfort mission preacher named Naumann gave a vivid description of the sad condition under which the workers live, and advocated that the nation should build suitable dwellings within the reach of all. Dr. Stoecker, the court preacher, expressed himself as ready to vote for the expenditure of \$230,000,000 to secure decent and wholesome dwellings for the people. Prof. Wagner avowed himself in favor of short hours of labor and providing of suitable dwellings.

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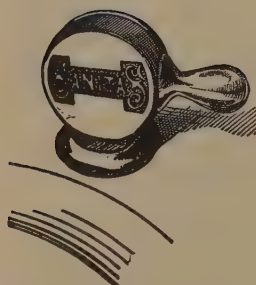
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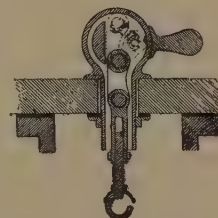
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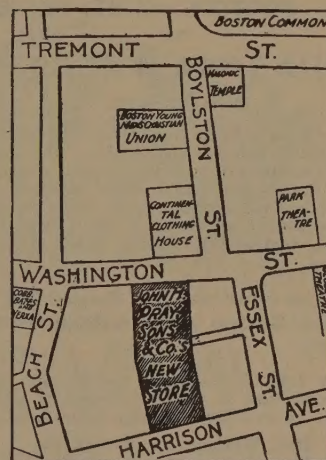
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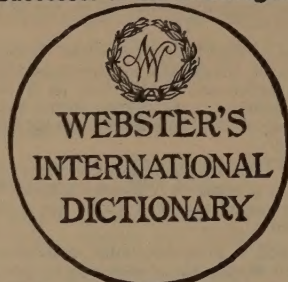
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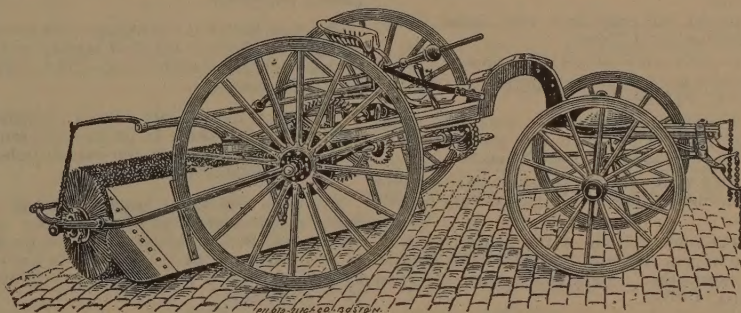
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